564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with [751] whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the [837] Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Enad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

564 They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 436 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 454 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd enough to repay them one day.

302 The women also wear their hair braided in a number of plaits which hang beside the temples. They coif each other, and since the job requires many hours, it is done only once or twice a month.

[412] They begin by untangling the hair by means of a small comb, at the same time filling the hair with sand and wood ashes. Next they

[515] proceed to delouse it, for each Tuareg head of hair generally harbors a whole little world of insects. Then the hairdresser separates the hair into bunches, using a small knife, soaks it with water and butter, and braids it, either in large braids so that there are three or four hanging on each side, or in many small braids.

[751] They smear their hair with butter for no other reason than to protect it against the sun and especially against the dry air which makes it brittle.

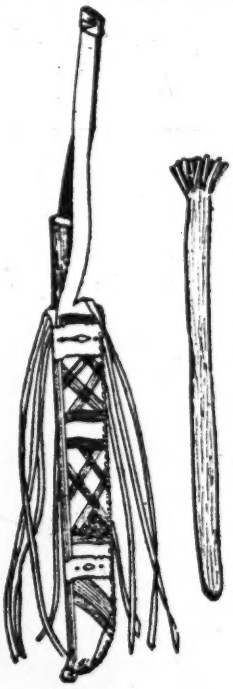

Fig. 35. Tooth brush of irak wood with its leather case.

The men let their beards grow, but they almost always shave their mustaches or cut them very short so /259/ that they do not get in the way under the veils which cover the lower part of their faces.

[754] Men and women shave the pubis.

After dressing the hair or shaving, the Tuareg always bury their hair or down, for fear that people who wish them harm might get hold of them and take them to some sorcerer who could use them to make fearful evil spells.

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
[174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
262 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs; only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
[825 legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the
773] maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

824 Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

●754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell
[825] on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

Chapter IX

Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

Many legends circulate about blacksmiths. They say that 326
because they work with iron and fire, they will go into the fire 565
of hell. They are scorned, first because they devote themselves
to a manual craft, a disgrace in the eyes of a Tuareg, and
secondly because it is said that they are of Negro origin. It is
also claimed that they were pagans and that their conversion
to Islamism is not sincere. They are also taken for sorcerers. [754]
The sheik Ben Djellas (see the Appendix /not translated/) says
of them: "Blacksmiths hate God and his Prophet, and they
betray God and his Prophet." Their ancestor was called
Tamamenet.

The blacksmith does not belong to any tribe. He goes
where he pleases, wherever he finds work. Sometimes he goes
to war, and he is said to fight well, but a noble Tuareg will not
cross swords with him.

In the Ahaggar a blacksmith is called "mr'allem," variation 326
of the Arab "maâlem." However, there is a word in Tamashek [192]
for him, "inedh," plural "inedhane," but it is not used. /73/

At Tamanrasset I was shown many ancient graves (of the [764]
"chouchat" shape) which, it seems, were the burial places of
a tribe of blacksmiths said to have been massacred and died of
starvation a very long time ago.

The gardens of the Ahaggar "ar'erems" are worked by the 241
Harratine of the Touat and the Tidilkelt, who bring their tools 312
with them. It is they also who dig the "foggaras," or covered 565
wells, and all the tools that they use come from the Saharan Oases.

Chapter XII

Agriculture. Ar'erems

While in all of the Ahnet no trace of agriculture is to be 241
found, however small, because of the scarcity of wells, whose 361
312

757 /111 cont./ Jackal meat, eaten with decoctions of
278 rellachem for three days, is the best remedy for gonorrhea; cloves will aid in the healing.

Jackal meat is also used to cure syphilis, but in addition in the morning one must drink milk in which colocynth has been soaked; while this milk is being drunk, skewers of fat to be eaten afterward are cooked; clear soup is drunk during the entire day. After three days small, white granulations are seen in the stools, indicating the success of the treatment.

Smallpox formerly was treated in a sufficiently efficacious manner by digging a hole in the sand and heating it as if to make méchoui /roasted sheep/, although not so hot; the patient then lay in the hole and was covered with sand. After that there was nothing to do but wait.

The treatment for measles requires the patient to be kept warm, while eating hare, gazelle, or wild sheep meat.

Toothaches cannot last when treated as follows: fill the mouth with onion seeds, ouzouaz, wheat, and salt; keep these medicaments in the closed mouth for half an hour. When adolescents break out in pimples, which disfigure them, it is essential that /112/ onion seeds be burned and the smoke inhaled, which, it is said, makes all the worms leave immediately. Around a boil, apply a paste made of milk and powdered tanzet (a kind of Sudanese bean).

Magic Rites

789 This is a very difficult subject to treat, for the secrets
● 754 are jealously guarded by those who possess them and want to profit from them, or are carefully hidden by those who know them in a disinterested fashion but who lack confidence in their questioner or fear reprisals.

The Ahaggar, situated at the frontiers of Islam and the black world, is without doubt impregnated with magic customs; the superficial Islamism of the population, which retains an

787
754 /112 cont./ underlying belief in genii, often not avowed but present, lends itself admirably to secret magic rites.

754 However, it seems that the Tuareg, although very superstitious, do not use maleficent spells, a specialty of the women of the Tidikelt, the Ajjers, and the Sudan. The most famous of the evil spells is the "borbor," chiefly the work of the Negresses.

The borbor acts in two ways: either it tends to poison an individual that one wants out of the way, or it serves simply to diminish the forces of someone one wants revenge against or that one wants to attract (in the last case, it acts something like a love potion). In any case the borbor produces its effects only over a long period of time; it is personal and is prepared for a specific purpose; to be effective, it must be administered cunningly.

It appears to be impossible to obtain an exact recipe for borbor. Here are the chief ingredients that enter into its composition; the proportioning is determined by a specialist.

The basic ingredient seems to be the brain of someone recently dead; it must be sought at night in a cemetery. The story is told of a woman who, having wanted to steal the brain of a recently deceased marabout, was found dead, struck down /113/ by the power of the defunct, and clutching in her clenched hand scraps of her theft.

Once obtained, the excipient is kept in a vase so that the elements effective for a given individual may be added. The list of these is long; let us mention all the external secretions of the intended victim: sweat, preferably from under the armpit; tears; earwax; urine; blood (preferably menstrual); semen. Also collected are hair, nail clippings, dirt from the arms and nails, soil walked on with the bare feet. All or part of these ingredients are added to the excipient, mixed, then cooked. This diabolic cooking is done at night by two initiated women, entirely nude. After a certain time, the pot rises in the air and revolves in the closed room; the

754 /113 cont./ women chase it, beating the air with scarves and reciting secret words. They act as if they were madwomen.

The borbor is incorporated into couscous, which, it is said, may be turned with a hand taken from a dead person, but I have had few confirmations of that practice. The borbor is administered by throwing it in the path the victim should take, if it is impossible to make him eat it.

Whether intended as philter or poison, borbor differs very little in its composition; only the quantities must differ.

When a woman wishes the death of a rival, she has another process at her disposition. Having managed to obtain some menstrual blood of the enemy, she goes to a taleb /public scribe/ who specializes in magic; the latter wraps the blood in a paper or rag on which he writes sacred words; he then throws the package into a permanent séguia /irrigation canal/. As long as the seguia flows, the blood of the rival will flow, and she will die of this hemorrhage.

There is an antidote for borbor called "bottal," a blackish substance that one throws on embers and whose emanations counteract the effects of borbor.

824 754 Two plants must be mentioned here which, without being fatal, cause momentary insanity, according to the Tuareg: first, "afeleleh" ("bettina" in Arabic), black henbane, (the antidote consists of gulping down camel meat or, better, /114/ camel fat); second, "bourzig," taken by women who want to gain weight, but which taken in strong doses induces temporary madness during which the victim spouts out an endless succession of words which she does not remember later.

754 Magic operations are most varied, and everyone can expecteach day to be the victim of them. The Negroes are haunted by this fear; the Tuareg do not seem to be worried [751] by these magic maneuvers. However, everyone wears "tera," protective charms issued by the taleb; thus the Moslem religion, more or less deformed, fights against magic or, sometimes, collaborates with it.

754 /114 cont./ Belief in the evil eye is shared by the Negroes and the Tuareg: certain persons may by their words cause the worst calamities, induce illness, provoke accidents, make animals die. Happily, there are other persons who have the opposite power and who, by approaching a sleeper and placing a hand near his face, give him strength and luck for the day.

777 83 In general women are carriers of bad luck in the morning; however, if an intimate lets her sex be glimpsed before a morning departure, luck will smile on the hunter.

Of one who has the evil eye, it is said in Tamashek; "illé tahot."

777 776 Who gives that good or bad luck carried by an individual and which may sometimes emanate from him? The reply to this question is: God, for, after all, these people are Moslems; but each one is persuaded that the genii, the Kel es Souf, as the Tuareg say, are agents of this suprahuman life. The Kel es Souf constitute a people of spirits invisible during the day, but who may appear to humans at night in the most varied forms. At nightfall comes the most favorable moment for the exploits of the Kel es Souf. All manifestations of natural forces are attributed to these genii: whirlwinds, echoes, floods of the wadi, cave-ins, a spontaneous fire in the dry grass. On the contrary, the mirage ("eillel") is not the work of the Kel es Souf.

/115/ He who hears or sees one of these genii is always troubled; he may become ill and even insane, for, if there are indifferent Kel es Souf (very few, however), there are no good ones. It is because of this that one must know how to protect oneself against them; this is ordinarily done by invoking God, by carrying talismans, and by always having an iron object with oneself.

The Kel es Souf like certain places and reside there in preference to others: deep ravines, in which they shower stones on the unfortunate humans who venture there, and caves, in

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826 832 142 114 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A [754] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an "evil mouth" – beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehoj*, in Ayr as *tugurchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one. 291 576 Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always [609] [604] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ékerhey* in Ahaggar, *adulil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women [609] [604] do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their headcloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

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The Ayr Tuareg say that the blacksmiths do not have *ténet* words for everything, but always use Tuareg words for certain objects and animals. It is in fact possible that the *ténet* language has been created by the blacksmiths to be used as a secret language. This explanation agrees excellently with the social position of blacksmiths. They make weapons, ornaments, household implements, and the like for the Tuareg. The Tuareg therefore consider them indispensable, and admire them for their skill. But this is only one aspect of the Tuareg attitude towards blacksmiths who are also looked down upon because of their obscure origin and their predominantly negroid appearance. Furthermore, blacksmiths are frequently wearisome to the Tuareg. They claim gifts from the Tuareg on every possible occasion, and if they are given nothing when they ask it is believed that they can do severe harm to the persons from whom a gift is claimed. For the blacksmiths possess a mystic power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama* or *tezma*. This mystic power has nothing to do with black magic. It comes into action automatically without any physical performance by the blacksmith if his demand is ignored. The *ettama* power is dangerous to children and to animals but not so much to adults. Children frequently fall ill with a swollen belly, while the effect on domestic animals is more severe and often causes their death. Though blacksmiths do not perform any physical act to put their mystic power into operation, they are nevertheless held responsible for damage ascribed to it by the Tuareg. This can be illustrated by the following example from Southern Ayr: — An Ayr Tuareg was on his way from Damergu to Ayr with a caravan of camels loaded with millet. One evening at dusk, when he was just about to lead his camels out for grazing at night, a blacksmith came to him to ask for a gift of millet. The Tuareg said that the blacksmith had better wait until next morning as it was already getting dark. The blacksmith went away, and shortly after his departure one of the Tuareg's camels fell ill and died. The Tuareg was convinced that the death of his camel was due to the blacksmith's *ettama* power, and therefore wanted revenge. He mounted a camel, pursued the blacksmith and killed him with an axe. This event happened only a few years ago. It illustrates how firmly many Tuareg believe in the evil *ettama* power of blacksmiths. In fact many Tuareg openly declare that they dislike and fear all blacksmiths. They do not like to associate with them except on festive occasions when blacksmiths frequently act as singers and musicians. The Tuareg never intermarry with people of the blacksmith caste, and even people of other negroid castes are reluctant to intermarry with blacksmiths. In Ahaggar a marriage may be contracted between blacksmiths and *Ḥarratin*, and in Ayr there are said to be a few marriages between blacksmiths and people of other negroid classes or castes. But on the whole the caste of blacksmiths (*Ineden*) can be characterized as endogamous. This is quite natural in view of the fact that blacksmiths possess the evil mystic power (*ettama*, or *tezma*), which I have described in more detail elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1961, pp. 134 f., 146).

Between fair-skinned, true Tuareg and other black-skinned castes but that of the blacksmiths, marriages are contracted now and then, and it seems as if mixed marriages of this type are becoming more and more numerous. In Ahaggar there are some marriages between Tuareg and women belonging to the castes of slaves (*Iklan*) or sedentary agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) and there are even marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg women and negroid men though such marriages are less frequent. Mixed marriages are even more frequent in Ayr. The offspring of such unions are known in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer as *Iburelliten* (*Aburelli*). This word is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but

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human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*tehereggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehoț* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *ettama* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

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p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *ẹfezenfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120 b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. Today true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imeddeɣaren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Ɣali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Ɣali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

Age	Male	Female
Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . .	*awhim*	*tawhimt*
Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . .	*ahyar*	*tahyart*
Fully grown animal	*ahenkod*	*tahenkot*

Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

(1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

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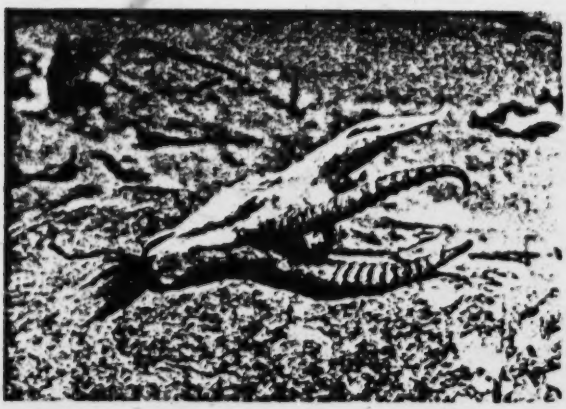


Fig. 122. Gazelle's head with the black tail-tuft inserted into one of the nostrils as a remedy against the mystic evil power called *ettama* (*tezma*). Tasilt-n-Ajjer.

This custom is believed to afford protection against the mystical power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama*, or *tezma* – an evil power possessed by certain Tuareg and by all blacksmiths (cf. p. 21). A person who possesses this evil power may, if he does not receive part of the booty, spoil the hunter's luck when seeing the killed gazelle. The tail-tuft put into the animal's nostril eliminates this risk.

(2) When a hunter returns to his camp with booty he should not show the killed game to other people, and if asked about the results of his hunting trip he should deny that he has had any luck. This custom is also explained as being a protection against the evil power *ettama* (*tezma*) just mentioned.

(3) When a man leaves his camp for a hunting trip he must not talk about it, nor must it be mentioned by other people. This belief has its root in the conception of the "evil mouth" (the "evil eye") known in Ayr as *tugarchet*, in Ahaggar as *tehoț*.

(4) If a hunter has given meat from his killed game to another man, the latter should not praise it. This belief is due to the belief in the "evil mouth" – the belief that a man's luck can be spoiled by praise.

224
777 (5) In a *Dag Rali* camp I have noticed that a piece of bone of a barbary sheep was conserved in a skin bag. I was told that this was done in order that the hunter might have good luck in his future hunting of barbary sheep.

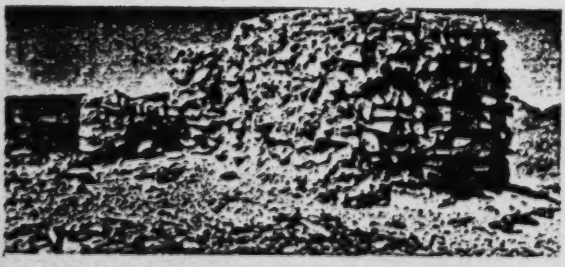
828 (6) Certain omens bring good luck in hunting as well as in other projects, e.g., to walk between two black ravens (Ayr), or to see two black ravens (Ahaggar); to see a jackal; to see the hawk called *ahullaw*; to see three gazelles.

224
787 (7) The Tuareg have various methods of divination some of which are frequently used in connection with hunting. The hunter will frequently enquire into the result of a planned hunting trip by means of a method known in Ahaggar as *ighehan*, in Ayr as *igazan*. In brief the method is practised as follows:— The diviner presses his thumb or his forefinger quickly into the sand to make two rows of holes close to each other. He does not know ahead how many holes he has made in the two rows. He counts

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they lose their *albaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and particularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals (notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).



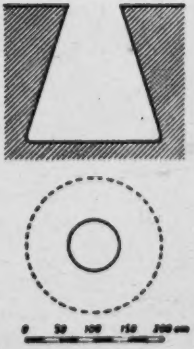


Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*ifend*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[text continues on p. 209]